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VIII.—THE ROMANCE LYRIC FROM THE STAND- POINT OF ANTECEDENT LATIN DOCUMENTS

The relation of Latin lyric poetry to the lyric poetry of the Romance peoples remains one of the interesting problems of medieval literature. It has already challenged the industry of generations of investigators with no definite result.¹ And it may be doubted whether conclusions which are self-convincing will be reached in the immediate future. The chief hindrance to a satisfactory solution is presented, of course, by the incompleteness of relevant material. The examples of Latin lyrics which may be considered as expressive of natural emotion are few in number before the end of the eleventh century, and the poems of William IX are the first in Romance. There may be found here and there, to be sure, scattered hints of the existence of non-artistic poetry, whether in Latin or the vernacular, but the information so furnished by Latin writers is uncertain as well as meager. Widely different interpretations may be put on it. Contradictory theories find inconclusive support in it, further confusing an already perplexing problem. In view of all this doubt, and the difficulties with which the subject is still beset, it may not be unprofitable to go over the ground once more, and arrange the documents

¹ Cf. H. Suchier and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der franz. Lit.*, pp. 8, 10; E. Wechssler, *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, v (1897-1898), pp. 393-396; C. M. de Vasconcellos, *Cancioneiro da Ayuda* (Halle, 1904) II, pp. 836-940; C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranz. Lit.*, pp. 188-196; Fr. Novati, *Mélanges Wilmotte*, pp. 417-441.

which allude to non-literary poetry, Latin or Romance, in their chronological order from the first century to the eleventh. While nothing new may be discovered from such a classification it will be useful to have at hand, grouped together, the texts from which the opposing factions draw their partisan arguments.¹

Now when the Latin authors of this long period mention non-literary or popular poetry do they use any peculiar nomenclature? Apparently not. The terms in which they refer to it are the words which are also applied to the literary lyric, unless an exception may be made for the word *carmen*, which rarely designates non-artistic compositions. The same terms are also employed for church hymns and songs. It is the qualification of the word, or the context, which decides its meaning. Accordingly here, as in classical poetry, we find *canticum* (*a*), *cantilena* (*æ*) and *cantio* (*ones*), following the order of their frequency.² Now *canticum* and *cantio* enjoy the privileges of Latin citizenship. *Cantilena* is only partly accredited. It does not mean a lyric poem with the best writers of the Augustan Age. Terence had

¹The review will be limited to texts coming from Latin, or Romance territory, because the documents which are of Germanic origin have been thoroughly exploited, and at the present moment are being analyzed by Philip S. Allen, in a series of monographs on Medieval Lyrics and the Medieval Mimic in *Modern Philology*. Allen does not confine himself to German authors, of course, but his interest draws him more to the German side. On the other hand, Romance lyric is the special object of J. B. Beck's studies on medieval music and poetry (*Die Melodien der Troubadours*, *La Musique des Troubadours*, etc.), from which we may expect considerable additions to our knowledge of medieval poetic art and perhaps a satisfactory explanation of its sources.

²See the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, under these heads.

conceded its etymological rights, though he uses it but once, and then as a proverb.¹ But when we come down to Cicero, Seneca and their contemporaries *cantilena* signifies a frivolous remark only, or even a bit of gossip. With the second century, however, it returns to its root sense and is found as "song" in various passages of Aulus Gellius, side by side with its less dignified attribution of a memory aiding jingle.²

In the third century there seems to be no mention of *cantilena*, but in the fourth it recurs many times and with many authors, ecclesiastical and secular, and always in its literal acceptation.³

The fourth century does even more. It tells us of the existence of semi-popular, or popular, songs which celebrate an historical event. It tells us how they were sung, and perhaps composed, and these embryo epics of the people it calls *cantilenae*. The campaigns which Aurelian fought many years before he was made emperor (or about 240) are narrated by Flavius Vopiscus, who flourished in the first quarter of the fourth century (-300-

¹ *Cantilenam eandem canis. Phormio III, 2.*

² . . . neque ridenda sit notissima illa veterum poetarum de Caenide et Caeneo cantilena. *Noctes Atticae IX, 4, 6.* From the context this "cantilena" must be a song of the semi-mythical, popular, unclean type. The alliteration of its title—but not its probable subject—reminds one of the lines: *Ne l'out Basilies ne sis frere Basanz (Roland, 291), and E si i furent e Gerins e Geriers (do., 107).*—A song must also be meant in "et sicut in voluptatibus cultus atque victus, ita in cantilenarum quoque mollitiis anteiretis." *O. c. XIX, 9, 4.* But in "quasi quaedam cantilena rhetorica, facilius adhaerere memoriae tuae potuit" (*o. c. X, 19*); we are dealing with mnemonic verse.

³ See Ausonius of Bordeaux, Jerome's *Vulgate*, Ambrose of Milan, and, later, St. Augustine (in his commentaries on the *Psalms*), and Martianus Capella.

327-). And he adds to his account of the wars, that boys composed songs and dances in honor of Aurelian's personal prowess against the Sarmatians, and afterwards against the Franks.¹ In another work, his *Saturninus*, Vopiscus gives to *cantilena* a wider meaning, which includes perhaps all songs of the people. As where speaking of Egyptians he says: "atque adeo vani liberi novarum rerum usque ad cantilenas publicas cupientes."²

In the same century, but perhaps fifty years after Vopiscus, another wellknown author, Ammianus Marcellinus (-390-), uses the term *cantilena* for non-literary songs. In a passage which regrets the relaxation of discipline among the soldiers under Julian, and their increasing love of luxury, Ammianus specifies as particularly reprehensible their fondness for effeminate melodies: "Quibus tam maculosis accessere flagitia disciplinæ castrensis, cum miles cantilenas meditaretur pro júbilo molliores."³ On the other hand, Ammianus' contemporaries apply *cantilenæ* to literary compositions in verse, as witness Aurelius Symmachus († 402), educated in Gaul but a consul in Africa, who sends a poem to a friend with the request: "elaboratam . . . accipe cantilenam." The lines of the poem are hexameters. Some of them rime at the cesura and end (the leonine

¹ . . . adeo ut etiam ballistia pueri et saltatiunculas in Aurelianum tales componerent, quibus diebus festis militariter saltitarent:

Mille, mille, mille, [mille, mille] decollavimus, etc., *Aurelianus*, c. 6.

Unde iterum de eo facta est cantilena:

Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos semel et semel occidimus,

Mille, [mille, mille, mille, mille] Persas quaerimus. *O. c. c. 7.*

Cf. J. G. Kempf, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplement Band xxvi (1901), pp. 357-360, 387-390.

² c. 7.

³ L. xxii, 4, 6.

rime), but whether intentionally or through accident does not appear.¹

From these instances we may learn that no light is thrown on the nature of a poem by the designation *cantilena*. It may be literary or it may be non-literary, popular or semi-popular. The significance to be attributed depends on the context in each case. Any lyric written or sung is called *cantilena*. But while no result of any moment has been reached by this summary, the meaning which is given to *cantilena* in Flavius Vopiscus, that of a song accompanying dance movements, suggests another query which involves the theory of the origin of poetry itself. It is not at all my intention to enter upon the discussion of this theory, nor to consider with any amount of detail any particular argument for it or against it. But while we are reviewing the Latin literature of classical and post-classical times with reference to its allusions to possible popular poetry, it may be well to scrutinize the places where such allusions are made, with dance movements especially in mind. Perhaps they may be found to contain material which will add something to our understanding of the general subject. For in the debate on what might be possible prototypes of Romance lyrics, we know how great a stress is laid on the connection between singing and dancing, disclosed either by Latin documents which were written before the twelfth century, or by vestiges of popular customs which survived in the artistic poetry of the vernacular.

It will be recalled that the earliest writers of classical antiquity, Homer and Hesiod, describe dance movements to musical accompaniment, and in one of the first books

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Auc. Antiq. VI, p. 1, l. 16.

of the Old Testament the women under Miriam's leadership chorused their joy at the destruction of Pharaoh's host.¹ These movements seem to be like the leaping and dancing of women in a circle, which Virgil and Horace call *coreæ*, and which persist today in children's rounds. Our knowledge of them in ancient times is somewhat increased by the comments of Apuleius (-150-), who speaks of choruses composed of both sexes and lead by a precentor.² And in the fourth century choruses are mentioned by Hilary of Poitiers († 366), who applies to the songs which accompanied their movements the word *cantica*.³ A few years later Saint Jerome translates the Hebrew of *I Samuel* xviii, noticed above, into the terms which many repetitions down through the Middle Ages have made familiar to all: "mulieres . . . cantantes, chorosque ducentes . . . Et praecinebant mulieres ludentes, atque dicentes. . ."

As survivals of heathen practice, in Roman territory at least, it was natural that women's choruses and their songs should soon encounter ecclesiastical censure. By the fourth century the clergy had taken alarm at their prevalence, and were warning their congregations against engaging in them. Arnobius Afer (-300-), of Numidia, in a treatise directed at pagan beliefs and practices, subjects such songs and dances to the most vigorous

¹ *Exodus* xv, 20, 21. Similar forms of public rejoicing are noted in *I Samuel* xviii, 6, 7, and *Judith* xv, 12, 13, xvi, 1, 2. The account in the Septuagint version of *Judith* supplies the largest amount of detail.

² *Liber de Mundo*, c. 29, 35.

³ . . . hisque cum choris canticisque saltatum. Commentary on *Matthew* xii, 22; in Migne, *Patrologia Latina* ix, 992.

condemnation.¹ Hilary of Poitiers, in the passage already quoted, couples dances and dance songs with idol worship, and Saint Jerome, in telling how he was tempted in the desert, says that choruses of girls formed part of his temptation.² In a subsequent letter of friendly counsel to a young widow, Saint Jerome denounces these choruses of the Devil as most pestiferous.³ This was the rooted opinion also of Jerome's younger contemporary, Saint Augustine († 429), who neglects no opportunity to stigmatize the "choraula" and the "chorus meretricum,"⁴ while Nicetas, who was bishop of Aquileja in the second quarter of the fifth century († about 450), counts among the works of the adversary the worship of idols, magic, sooth-saying, theatres, uncleanness, drunkenness, choruses and lies.⁵ Yet, in spite of this very determined opposition, there are writers of the fifth century, including Claudian, Dracontius of Africa († about 450), and the cultured Sidonius Apollinaris († about

¹ Idecirco animas misit, ut res sancti atque augustissimi nominis symphoniacas agerent et fistulatorias hic artes, ut inflandis bucculas distenderent tibiis, cantionibus ut praeirent obscenis numerositer, et scabillorum concrepationibus sonoris, quibus animarum alia lasciviens multitudo incompósitos corporum dissolveretur in motus, saltitaret, et cantaret, orbes saltatarios verteret. . . *Adversus Gentes* II, c. 42; in Migne, o. c. v, 881, 882.

² . . choris inter eram puellarum. *Epistola* XXII (dated about 384); in Migne, o. c. XXII, 398.

³ Fidicinas et psaltrias, et istiusmodi chorum diaboli, quasi mortifera sirenarum carmina proturba ex aedibus tuis. *Epist.* LIV (about 394); in Migne, o. c. XXII, 556.

⁴ *De Civitate Dei* VI, 7 (also IV, 22, cited by E. Faral in *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge*, p. 13, n. 1); *Contre Julianum* 4, 3, 18; *Commentary on Psalm* xcvi, 10; *Sermo* ix (Migne, o. c. XXXVIII, 77, 79, 85), etc.

⁵ *Explanatio Symboli*, edited by C. P. Caspari in his *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota* I, pp. 342, 343 (Christiania, 1883).

488), bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, whose attitude towards choruses is, at least, tolerant. Prosper of Aquitania († about 463) and Faustus (-464-484-), bishop of Riez (Basses-Alpes), make free use of the word chorus in their exegesis of Scripture, without any qualification whatsoever.

In the midst of so rich and varied testimony regarding the universality of chorus dancing and singing, it is interesting to find one witness whose family relations have forced his utterance. It is a bishop, Ruric of Limoges († about 507), who strikes the personal note, not as a pastor, but as the father of a prodigal son, Constantine. Constantine is away from his father's house, leading a life of dissipation. In a letter of earnest admonition his father urges him to forsake his evil companions and return: "Quamlibet Baccho, symphoniis et diversis musicis nec non etiam et puellarum choris te deditum esse cognoverim . . . parentibus quoque operam dare quam cantibus."¹ The situation indicated by Ruric's correspondence is not the ordinary one of rustic dancing and singing. It must refer to the choruses of harlots and the songs of the brothel. But the passage is valuable because of its locality and date, and also because it explains the spirit of hostility which the church showed to choruses and chorus songs from the beginnings of its organized convocations. While many of the dances and melodies were no doubt clean, their association with heathen performances on the one hand and with coarse actions on the other involved the whole conception of dance movements and music.

For this reason ecclesiastical councils condemn the

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist. Auc. Antiq.* VIII, p. 332, ll. 9-12.

practice in its entirety. The council held at Agde (Hérault), in 506, or just before Ruric's death, formulated a canon which commanded its priests and deacons to withdraw from marriage feasts and gatherings, "ubi amatoria cantantur et turpia, aut obscaeni motus corporum choris et saltibus efferentur. . ." ¹ Of course there remains the possibility that the dances on such occasions were performed by professionals, or by the same class which young Constantine frequented. But it is only a possibility, since not many years after the council of Agde a *præceptum* of Childebert I, who was king of Paris from 511 to 558, warns against idol worship and other evil practices: "noctes pervigiles cum ebrietate, scurrilitate vel canticis, etiam in ipsis sacris diebus pascha, natali Domini et reliquis festivitatis vel adveniente die domineco bansatrices per villas ambulare." ²

Other canons which may also date from the sixth century specify the places and circumstances where dancing and singing could not be tolerated. A canon of the council of Arles (524), cited by Burchard of Worms († 1026), prohibits dances and "carmina" (incantations? charms?) at funerals.³ Burchard also cites from a council held at Braga in Portugal in 561 or 572 a canon which forbids dancing before churches.⁴ This

¹ Mansi, *Sacro. Concilia*. VIII, 331: canon XXXIX.

² *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Capitularia I, pp. 2, 3.

³ Nullus ibi praesumat diabolica carmina cantare, non joca et saltationes facere, quae pagani diabolo docente adinvenerunt. Migne, o. c. CXL, 838. This canon is not given by the editor of the *Mon. Germ. Hist.* (Concilia I), and therefore may not be one ordered at Arles.

⁴ Si quis balationes ante ecclesias sanctorum fecerit. . . Migne, o. c. CXL, 839.

particular practice surely belonged to the people, and was not at all professional. It will give rise to many admonitions in later canons, which will not only censure the dances but also the songs that accompanied them. An instance in point is where the council of Toledo, sitting in 589, forbids such disturbances of public worship, disturbances which were most in evidence on church holidays.¹ And about this time, we may suppose, was held the council of Carthage cited by Burchard, whose canon condemns songs near churches, without any mention of dancing.²

There can be no doubt about the performers in Spain, at least. It is the "vulgus" that danced and sang near the churches on festival days, and not wantons. And because the language of the other councils is practically the same, we may be justified in concluding that the spaces before the churches were used by the parish as a dance floor, not only in Spain, but in France and elsewhere. And we know this practice has survived all dynasties, even the Bourbon, down even to the present day.

It is not ecclesiastical canons, however, whether voted

¹ Exterminanda omnino est irreligiosa consuetudo, quam vulgus per sanctorum solennitates agere consuevit; ut populi, qui debent officia divina attendere, saltationibus et turpibus invigilent canticis; non solum sibi nocentes, sed et religiosorum officiis perstreptentes. Mansi, o. c. ix, 999 (canon 23).—Professor C. C. Marden tells me that boys still dance on high days before the chancel of the Toledo Cathedral, in spite of the clergy's disapproval (the so-called "seises"). Cf. *Los Seises de la Catedral de Sevilla*, por Don Simon de la Rosa y Lopez (Seville, 1904), p. 340, n., which Professor H. R. Lang has called to my attention.

² Canticum turpe atque luxuriosum circa ecclesias atque in atriis ecclesiae agere omnino contradicimus, quod ubique vitandum est. Migne, l. c., 691.

in France or elsewhere, which afford the most interesting information about song and dance in the sixth century. It is rather an author of reputation, a poet of elegant Latinity, a product of Italian culture, but who wrote, like Ruric of Limoges, on what will be storied ground in the annals of medieval literature, the territory south of the Loire, the future province of Poitou. Venantius Fortunatus had come to France towards 570, enjoyed there the friendship of the historian, Gregory of Tours, and won the confidence of Radegunda of Thuringia. This unfortunate princess, released from an unwelcome union with Chlothar I, had gone to Poitiers and founded the abbey of St. Croix, about 567. Twenty years later she passed away in odor of sanctity. Venantius outlived her and consecrated his pen to the narration of her good works. At one place in his biography, to illustrate the ex-queen's complete detachment from the world and her distrust of its echoes even, he relates this anecdote: "Quadam vice obumbrante jam noctis crepusculo inter coraulas [*var.* corollas] et citharas dum circa monasterium a saecularibus multo fremitu cantaretur et sancta [Radegunda] duabus testibus perorasset diutius, dicit quaedam monacha sermone joculari: Domina, recognovi unam de meis canticis a saltantibus praedicari. Cui respondit: Grande est, si te delectat conjunctam religioni audire odorem saeculi. Adhuc soror pronuntiat: Vere, domina, duas et tres hic modo meas canticas audivi quas tenui [*var.* duo et tria cantica audivi quae retinui]. Sancta respondit: Teste Deo me nihil audisse modo saeculare de cantico."¹

The passage, as we have said, is a most interesting one,

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auc. Antiq.* iv,² pp. 47, 48.

but it is also confusing. The word *canticum*, or *cantica*, is used for the sacred hymn and the melody sung by the dancers indifferently, without qualification. We are also told there were several hymns as there were several corresponding dance melodies ("duas et tres"). Now if we try to determine the original song in each particular case, whether it was the hymn or the dance melody, in absence of all guidance from the context we are forced back on three hypotheses.¹ We may assume either that the dancers had heard at services held in the abbey the melodies to which they timed their movements, or that both the church hymns and the dance music derived from the same tunes, old and known to all classes of people, or that Radegunda's novice consciously chose a profane song as a vehicle for the expression of her spiritual desires. The last hypothesis seems unacceptable from its nature, yet the words which Venantius puts into the nun's mouth apparently support it nevertheless.

The problem posed by the story of Radegunda is by no means an isolated one, though it comes forward here for the first time. Centuries later, in the heart of the Middle Ages, as Jean Beck has discovered, the musical notation

¹ Again it is evident that nothing can be learned from the term *canticum*. The councils of Toledo and Carthage, cited above, had qualified "canticum" with the adjective "turpe." Previous to their canons, about the year 500, the poet Tuccianus used the word without a qualifier, but in the secular sense entirely:

Cantica gignit amor et amorem cantica gignunt:

Cantandum est ut ametur et ut cantetur amandum.

E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores* IV, p. 360.

We are obliged to conclude, therefore, that *canticum*, when not specifically designated, possesses the general meaning of its etymology. It was any kind of a song secular or religious in the sixth century, as it had been in the first.

of the hymn, *Agmina militiae*, etc., of the erotic Provençal poem, *L'autrier cuidai aver druda*, and of a song without words is one and the same. In explanation of this identity Beck offers three possible solutions: that the clergy had worked over a secular lyric, sung by the people on days of public rejoicing, into a religious hymn; that the hymn melody was invented first and was appropriated by the Provençal poet; that the song without words is older than either of the others and gave them their model, as it did a French poem which is but partly preserved in a single manuscript. Each of these three solutions Beck argues at length. He closely examines the metrical structure of the different texts involved, and after a detailed comparison he concludes that the song without words, an instrumental composition entirely, preceded all the others and may be considered their rhythmical source.¹ Now for the "cantica" of the Poitevin nun and her music-loving compatriots we have neither texts nor scores. But if we may be allowed to apply Beck's conclusion to a quite similar situation, we might assume that an old melody of Provence, old even in the sixth century, had inspired the educated, lettered musician and the untutored poets of the people.²

¹ *Die Melodien*, pp. 65-69.

² In his recent work (*La Musique des Troubadours*, Paris, 1910), Beck inclines more decidedly towards the opinion that the source of Troubadour music (and therefore of Romance lyric poetry) is to be found in the music of the church (see *La Musique des Troubadours*, pp. 19-24). In the case of Venantius particularly he has discovered that the music of the hymn *Ave maris stella*, commonly ascribed to him, was worked over for the score of the Provençal poem, *O Maria, Deu maire*, of the end of the eleventh century or beginning of the twelfth (cf. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie provençale*, col. 19). The idea that Latin church poetry, especially the sequence,

The Council of Toledo inveighs against song and dance in the vicinity of churches by people who should be attending the church office. Venantius' story shows how these songs distract the attention of holy nuns from their pious meditations. But the vogue they enjoyed was not satisfied in creating diversions outside the sacred edifice merely. They went so far as to invade it. At least we are led to make this inference from the decree of a church council sitting at this very time (573 to 603) at Auxerre, not far from the scene of Venantius' activity. The mention of such irreverence by so important a convocation goes far to prove its general prevalence. The ninth canon of the council of Auxerre says: "Non licet in ecclesia chorus saecularium vel puellarum cantica exercere nec convivia in ecclesia praeparare, quia scriptum est: *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.*"¹ It is true that Johann Kelle interprets this canon very differently.² He maintains that the "chorus" and "cantica" prohibited by the canon are the singing of Psalms and the liturgy by women, stationed within the chancel or near it. Dance songs are not at all in mind. But this interpretation neglects the context, which forbids banquets in the churches, and also the quotation from Scripture which summarizes the spirit of the canon. That women should lead in singing the liturgy might be contrary to ecclesiastical regulations, but it could not be judged irreligious.

might be the model for the Troubadour lyric was advanced by Wilhelm Meyer in his *Fragmenta Burana* (cf. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* I, pp. 51-55) ten years or more ago.

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia I, p. 180.

² In his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, pp. 47, 48, and recently in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse CLXI (1909), no. 2.

And while the churches in the larger communities would hardly harbor popular celebrations within their walls, it is wholly probable that the rural population at this time possessed no other meeting-place, and had gradually yielded to the temptation to transfer the festivals which they were accustomed to celebrate before the church in pleasant weather to the church itself, whenever personal comfort or the success of the entertainment were enhanced by it. This inference might be drawn from the canon of Toledo or Venantius' anecdote. It could also be supported by the decree of the council of Carthage, which has already been quoted, and by an important ordinance framed on French soil by a council held at Châlons between 639 and 654.¹ It will be confirmed, at the beginning of the eleventh century, by the account which Bernard of Angers will give of the vigils held in the church of Saint Fides of Conques.²

¹ Valde omnibus nuscetur esse decretum, ne per dedicationes basilicarum aut festivitates martyrum ad ipsa solemnia confluentes obscina et turpea cantica, dum orare debent aut clericus psallentes audire, cum choris foemineis, turpia quidem, decantare videantur [or chorus foemineus turpia quidem et obscoena cantica decantare videntur, dum aut orare debent aut clericos psallentes audire]. Unde convenit, ut sacerdotes loci illos a septa basilicarum vel porticus ipsarum basilicarum, etiam et ab ipsis atriis vetare debiant et arcere. . . *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia I, p. 212 (canon 19).

² See page 310. Other documents of the sixth century that speak of singing and dancing in Romance territory include a canon of Ferrandus of Carthage († about 550): "Ut nullus Christianus ballare vel cantare in nuptiis audeat" (*Migne, o. c. LXVII*, 959), and canon 40 of the council of Auxerre (573-603): "Non licet presbytero inter epulas cantare nec saltare" (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia I, p. 183). A passage in a sermon ascribed to Cæsar of Arles († 542): "Quam multi rustici et quam multæ mulieres rusticanae cantica diabolica, amatoria et turpia memoriter retinent et ore decantant" (*Migne, o. c. XXXIX*, 2325, cited by Gröber,

After this comparative richness of allusion to popular songs and dances in the sixth century, the dearth of mention, which the records of the seventh betray, comes somewhat in the nature of a surprise. Indeed the only sign of their existence on French soil, besides the canon of the council of Châlons which we have already cited, is given by St. Ouen (†683), bishop of Rouen. Among his works is a life of St. Eloi, who was bishop of Noyon (Oise) from 639 to 659. St. Eloi had preached a sermon, so St. Ouen says, in which he warned all true Christians to refrain from pagan practices on saints' days. And among these reprehensible customs are "vallationes vel saltationes (*add.* "aut caraulas") aut cantica diabolica," which he afterwards terms "cantica gentilium."¹ Outside of France, in the Romance country of Spain, Isidore of Seville (†636) had already composed his glossary (*Originum*). There he defines *choreae* as "ludicrum cantilenae, vel saltationes classium,"² which means,

Grundriss II, p. 444), and another sometimes ascribed to Saint Augustine, sometimes to Cæsar of Arles: "Ne forte detrahendo, male loquendo, et in sanctis festivitibus choros ducendo, cantica turpia et luxuriosa proferendo de lingua sua. . . Iste enim infelices et miseri homines, qui balationes et saltationes ante ipsas basilicas sanctorum exercere nec metuunt nec erubescunt, etsi christiani ad ecclesiam venerint, pagani de ecclesia revertuntur; quia ista consuetudo balandi de Paganorum observatione remansit" (Migne, *l. c.*, 2239), throw additional light on the prevalence of popular singing and dancing. Cf. also Migne, *l. c.*, 2165: "et cantica luxuriosa vel turpia proferentes libenter audierit," and 2241: "surgit velut phreneticus et insanus balare diabolico more, saltare, verba turpia et amatoria vel luxuriosa cantare." Though the authorship of these sermons remains doubtful, the customs they denounce seem to antedate the seventh century at least.

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Scrip. Rerum Mer.* iv, p. 706, l. 1; cf. p. 707, ll. 25, 26. St. Eloi was born near Limoges.

² *Orig.*, vi, 19, 6.

if we paraphrase rightly, that he considered the song the oral expression of the dance.

For several decades the eighth century resembles the seventh in the meagerness of information it offers regarding these amusements of the people. A glossary of the years intervening between 690 and 750 again defines *chorea* as "sonus in ludorum a coro dictum."¹ in apparent imitation of Isidore. Towards 743 a general council, held at Rome, makes especial reference to the January Calends, and forbids priests to be present at feasts during their festivities, "et per vicos et per plateas cantationes et choros ducere."² About the same time Abbot Pirminius († 753), of uncertain residence but possibly an Alsatian, is said to have warned all believers against dancing, singing and games, on all occasions and in every locality.³

The last quarter of the eighth century sees popular song and dance once more in evidence. And the statements which the writers of the day make regarding them add considerably to our knowledge of the actual condition of things. From these authors we learn that the dance, particularly the dancing of women, is still accompanied by song. We are also told of secular songs which are not connected with dancing. For the first time professional purveyors of dances, songs and games come forward, the *histriones*, the *mimi*, the *joculatores*. The per-

¹ *Corpus Gloss. Lat.* v, p. 185 (Leipzig, 1894). The glossary is preserved in a ms. of the VIII-IX century. Isidore's definition is also given in it.

² *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia II, p. 15, 16 (canon 9).

³ Nullus Christianorum neque ad ecclesiam, neque in domibus, neque in trivio, nec in ullo loco balationes, cantationes, saltationes, jocus et lusa diabolica facere non praesumat. Migne, o. c. LXXXIX, 1041, D.

formances of these mountebanks and jugglers must have been peculiarly welcome, for in 789 Charlemagne was forced to issue a capitulary, which forbids the clergy to receive the *joculatores* into their houses.¹ And Alcuin even, who died in 804, was moved to voice his regret at the attention paid them by his colleagues, who evidently preferred secular music at their meals to the reading of Scripture.² Of a more general bearing is the canon of the council held at Fréjus (Var) in 796 or 797. It commands the clergy not to take delight in hunting, nor "in canticis secularibus . . . in liris et tibiis et his similibus lusibus."³ To all these admonitions another capitulary of Charlemagne, promulgated just at the beginning of the new century, in 802, adds the authority of the imperial government.⁴

But it is under the immediate successors of Charlemagne that warnings and injunctions against dancing and singing abound. A new council, convened at Rome in 826, extends the prohibition of the former one of 743 from the January Calends to all holy days. And it is women who are particularly aimed at now.⁵ In France,

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Capitularia I, p. 64; cf. II, p. 179, l. 24.

² Verba Dei legantur in sacerdotali convivio. Ibi decet lectorem audiri, non citharistam; sermones patrum, non carmina gentilium. *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epistolarum IV, p. 183, ll. 21, 22. The allusion here is to heroic poetry of German origin. See below, page 299, n. 1.

³ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia II, p. 191, ll. 19, 20. Note that dances are not mentioned in connection with the songs.

⁴ . . . non inanis lusibus vel conviviis secularibus vel canticis vel luxuriosis usum habeant. *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Capitularia I, p. 96, l. 7.

⁵ Sunt quidam, et maximae mulieres, qui festis ac sacris diebus atque sanctorum nataliciis non pro eorum, quibus debent . . . sed ballando, verba turpia decantando, choros tenendo ac ducendo, similitudinem paganorum peragendo advenire procurant. *Mon.*

the council of Paris of 829 condemns the participation of Christians in singing low songs.¹ Other assemblies of French clergy, at Châlons and Tours in 813 and Paris in 826, deprecate the welcome extended to *scurrae* and *histriones*, but have no direct condemnation for song and dance.²

With the records of the next generation, the second third of the ninth century, we draw near to the fatherland of Romance lyric poetry, the valleys of the Loire and Seine. Secular songs and dances on Sunday are condemned at crossroads, in squares and houses by a capitulary of the year 858 given by Hérard, archbishop of Tours. They would be a relic of paganism.³ And about the same time, in the nearby diocese of Meaux, Bishop Hildegarus (855-873) is supposed to have been composing the biography of a predecessor, Bishop Faro. Among the documents which entered into his narrative was a text

Germ. Hist., Concilia II, p. 581 (canon 35). Similar decrees had already been voted on German territory by the councils of Salzburg (800) and Mayence (813). See *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, o. c. II, p. 211, no. 34, p. 272, no. 48.

¹ . . de . . obscenis turpibusque canticis omnibus Christianis intellegendum et observandum est. *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, o. c. II, p. 670, ll. 16, 17.

² *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia II, p. 276, no. 9, p. 287, no. 7, p. 636, no. 38. Cf. *Capitularia* I, p. 334, no. 8.

³ Ne in illo sancto die vanis fabulis aut locutionibus sive cantationibus vel saltationibus, stando in biviis et plateis, ut solent, inserviant; illas vero ballationes et saltationes canticaque turpia ac luxuriosa et illa lusa diabolica non faciat, nec in plateis nec in domibus neque in ullo loco, quia haec de paganorum consuetudine renanserunt. Cited by Gröber (*Grundriss* I, p. 261) from Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francorum* I, p. 957 (958). Migne extends this prohibition to other holy days: "Et in eisdem sanctis diebus, nec in plateis, nec in domibus, cantica turpia vel luxuriosa, saltationes, vel lusa faciant diabolica" (o. c. CXXI, 772, no. 114).

that told of Chlothar's victory over the Saxons and the popular rejoicing which it occasioned, the so-called song of St. Faro: "Ex qua victoria carmen publicum juxta rusticitatem per omnium paene volitabat ora ita canentium, feminaeque choros inde plaudendo componebant."¹

Other information regarding French popular poetry, which may be found in ninth century documents, includes a capitulary of a diocesan convention said to have been held at Rheims in 852, under Archbishop Hinemar (+882), which orders priests to refrain from unseemly conduct and singing on anniversaries.² In the Loire valley again, a capitulary of Walter, who was bishop of

¹ P. Rajna, *Le Origini dell' Epopea Francese*, pp. 117-199. Cf. *Revue des langues romanes* LI, p. 49 ff. Whatever the origin of this "carmen," Gallo-Roman or Burgundian, or whoever may be the author of the *Vita S. Faronis*, the evidence drawn from the biography is wholly pertinent. It shows that at the time it was written, probably the ninth century, women accompanied their dances with song. It is to be noticed that this particular song does not bear the usual title of *canticum*, but the more dignified one of *carmen*, dignified yet unusual, as applied to vernacular poetry. It will be recalled that Alcuin had used the same term in designating the songs sung at the monks' meals by a zither player. Comparing these two appearances of the word, practically contemporaneous with each other, with Eginhard's celebrated phrase in reference to Charlemagne's activity in preserving German poetry: "Item barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit memoriaeque mandavit," may we not assume that in the song of St. Faro we see a nobler grade of popular minstrelsy than *canticum* would indicate? At all events the circumstances disclosed by the account in St. Faro's life recall those dance songs with which the Roman boys celebrated Aurelian's exploits. (See page 283).

² Ut nullus presbyterorum ad anniversariam diem . . . nec plausus et risus inconditos et fabulas inanes ibi referre aut cantare praesumat. . . Migne, o. c. cxxv, 776—quoted by Gröber, *Grundriss* II, p. 447, n. 1.

Orleans from 869 to about 892, also attempts to regulate clerical manners on the same occasions.¹ The ninth century glossaries that are usually assigned to France or Germany define *chorus* as "coevorum cantus et saltatio," *choros* as "saltationes," *chorea* (ms. from a German monastery) as "saltatio cum cantilena classium concinnentium," and *choreis* as "ballationibus."² Nor should a poem in octosyllabic monorime quatrains, which was prompted by the destruction of the monastery of Mont Glonne (St. Florent-le-Vieil), near Angers, in 848-850, and where the nightingale is invoked to utter songs, be omitted from this enumeration,³ nor perhaps also the capitulary of Benedict Levita, whose collection of forgeries dates from about 850 and was possibly compiled under Hinemar, in the diocese of Rheims.⁴

¹ Si quando autem in cujuslibet anniversario ad prandium presbyteri invitantur, cum omni pudicitia et sobrietate a procacis loquacitate et rusticis cantilenis caveant. Nec saltatrices in modum filiae Herodiadis coram se turpes facere ludos permittant. Mansi, o. c. xv, 507, cited by Gröber, *l. c.*, n. 2. Notice that the "cantilena" are not connected with dance movements. They are simply rustic songs. Also the Salome dances are not accompanied by singing but by coarse gestures. They appear to be danced by professionals.

² *Corpus Gloss. Lat.* v, pp. 351, 445, and pp. 352, 633. Cf. Isidore of Seville on page 295.

³ E. Dümmler, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* II. The third strophe reads:

Gravis det organum tuba;
Alte resultet fistula;
Omnis canat armonia;
Det philomela cantica.—p. 147.

⁴ Benedict Levita, or the monk who assumed this name, pretended to be a resident of Mayence, but is supposed to have lived in the east of France. Whatever his sources, real or spurious, he must have written pertinently to his environment. So his capitulary

Shortly after the ninth century had drawn to a close, in the diocese of Trier, a district bordering on French territory, Regino, who had been abbot of Prüm from 892 to 899, and who was now abbot of Trier (†915), was putting together a body of canons and decrees relating to the duties and conduct of the clergy. In this treatise, entitled *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, among many rules and directions, are found some of the injunctions concerning the participation of priests in popular festivities which we have already cited, together with others, not hitherto noticed, but which date from the ninth century or before, and whose nationality is uncertain. Among the latter is a canon which prescribes to the bishop: "Si plebem admoneat ut in atrio ecclesiae nequaquam cantent, aut choros mulierum ducant, sed ecclesiam ingredientibus verbum Dei cum silentio audiant."¹ Another orders that on Rogation Days: "Nequaquam mulierculae choreas [choros?] ducant, sed omnes in commune *Kyrie eleison* decantent."¹ And in the decade in which Regino was making his compilation, the council of Troyes (909) in Champagne was embodying in a canon directed against

on the observance of Sunday and saints' days is to the point in our discussion, and in its tenor confirms the ideas presented by the capitulary of his contemporary, Hérard of Tours. It says: "Quando populus ad ecclesias venerit tam per dies dominicos quam et per sollemnitates sanctorum, aliud non ibi agat nisi quod ad Dei pertinet servitium. Illas vero balationes et saltationes canticaque turpia ac luxuriosa, et illa lusa diabolica non faciat nec in plateis nec in domibus neque in ullo loco; quia haec de paganorum consuetudine remanserunt." *Mon. Germ. Hist., Legum II*² (1837, folio), p. 83 (no. 196). See page 298, note 3. The same canon?

¹ Migne, o. c. cxxxii, 190, 243. The second is assigned by Burchard of Worms, in his *Decretorum libri xx*, to some Orleans council. See Migne, o. c. cxi, 886 (canon 7).

the observance of Pagan practices a denunciation of wanton songs: "turpia necnon cantica," borrowed from a former council held at distant Ancyra.¹

With the injunctions of the council of Troyes the records of popular song and dance on French soil cease for a whole century. When they begin again the situation has greatly altered, for Romance poetry has been consigned at last to manuscripts. Because of this long silence and the changes which intervene, a summary of what has already been learned may not be inopportune. As to the terms by which the early medievalists designate the songs there is no particular deviation from the usage of the classical writers. We still meet *carmen*, *cantilena* and *canticum*, while *cantio* seems to have been expanded to *cantatio*. *Carmen*, apart from its application to poetry formed on classical models, is practically limited to incantation, or heroic song. It meant "incantation" in the canon of the council of Arles which we quoted from Burchard of Worms. It means "incantation" in another canon of Burchard's, where the cowherd or hunter "dicat diabolica carmina super panem, aut super herbas . . .",² and it means "incantation" in the phrase "carmina diabolica, quae nocturnis horis vulgus facere solet," which appears in the so-called *Sermo Synodalis*, attributed to Pope Leo IV

¹ Migne, o. c. CXXXII, 715 C.—It is also possible that Benott de Sainte-More has reliable authority for the lines in his *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* (about 1172), when he adds to an account of the cowardice of Ebles of Poitou during a Norman invasion of 911 (furnished him by a known Latin chronicler) the statement that the French sang satirical ditties at Ebles' expense:

Vers en firent e estraboz

U out assez de vilains moz.—ll. 5911, 5912.

² Migne, o. c. CXL, 836; *Decretorum libri xx*, Book x, canon 18.

(847-about 855).¹ On the other hand, we have seen that Aleuin, Eginhard and the author of the *Vita S. Faronis* gave it a nobler signification in their "carmina gentilium," "antiquissima carmina," and "carmen publicum."

Cantilena, when not a name for a church hymn, is infrequent. Indeed we do not find it in our references from Isidore's gloss for *choreae* to the "rusticis cantilenis" of Walter of Orleans. But there can be no doubt as to Walter's meaning, without support as it is at this period. The people of his diocese sang songs in the vernacular, songs which he, at least, considered both inartistic and unworthy of the priestly calling.

Cantatio appears three times, though not before the eighth century. It is used by the council of Rome of about 743, by Pirminius and by Hérard of Tours. In these cases it indicates a song which accompanies a dance.²

But the ordinary word to designate the popular lyric is still *canticum*. *Canticum* means, now the oral expression of the dance, as in Hilary of Poitiers, Venantius Fortunatus, and the council of Châlons, now a song independent of dance movements, whether a church hymn (Venantius), any secular song (Council of Fréjus), or an out-and-out coarse screed (Council of Paris of 829).³

¹ Migne, o. c. cxv, 681.—But in the anonymous life of St. Ouen, sometimes ascribed to Frithegod of Canterbury (Xc.), *carmen* means an erotic song: "In quorum domo, non ut assolet in quorundam secularium conviviis, mimorum, atque hystionum carmina foeda . . ." *Acta Sanctorum* xxxviii, August. iv, 810 F.

² The same relation may be inferred for the "cantionibus" of Arnobius Afer's treatise. See page 286 note 1.

³ Compare the "canticum turpe atque luxuriosum" of the Mayence council of 813 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia II, p. 272, ll. 9, 10). Examples of this sort of lyric in later verse occur to us at once, especially a certain notorious poem of William IX.

From all of which the conclusion follows that *canticum* may stand for a song by which dance movements are timed, or any lyric which does not aspire to the dignity of literature, unless it definitely means a church hymn. The occasions on which these lyrics of the crowd were sung are clearly specified, and the places where they were performed are generally mentioned. The canons forbid them in the neighborhood of churches at all times. They should not be tolerated anywhere on feast days and Sundays. The clergy should not countenance them on any day, even though it might be a family anniversary. From all these admonitions it is evident that these songs, whether so qualified or not, were coarse as a rule. In a number of instances, especially when they are connected with dancing, they are regarded as survivals of heathen customs.

But it is not safe to assume that the church authorities always associated the popular lyric with Paganism and superstition. For the old heathen festivals are rarely mentioned. The life of St. Eloi of Noyon (seventh century) speaks of May,¹ and the council of Rome, of 743, specifies the January Calends.² Yet with the exception of occasional allusions annual holidays do not come into

¹ Nullus diem Jovis absque sanctis festivitibus nec in Madio nec ullo tempore in otio observet. *O. c.*, p. 706. See note 1, page 295.

² Ut nullus Kalendas Januarias et bromas ritu paganorum colere praesumat. . . *O. c.*, p. 15. The Roman observance of the January Calends by singing and dancing is confirmed by a letter written to Pope Zacharias by Boniface of Mayence in 742: "Sicut adfirmant: se vidisse annis singulis in Romana urbe et juxta aecclesiam sancti Petri in die vel nocte, quando Kalende Januarii intrant, paganorum consuetudine chorus ducere per plateas et adclamationes ritu gentilium et (in-)cantationes sacrilegas celebrare. . ." *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epist. III, p. 301. ll. 11-14. Quoted by Gröber, *Zur Volkskunde aus Concilbeschlüssen und Capitularien*, paragraph 9.

question. The commands are rather to keep Sundays and saints' days inviolate at all times. So if we may safely conclude that the poetry of the people was erotic in the main, we are not warranted by documentary evidence in supposing that it was called out by any special festival, or that it flourished at one season of the year more than at another.

Admitting then that the songs and dances of the people were not confined to any particular occasion or to any one time of the year, but played a leading part in the merry-making of all church holidays and of every family festival, the absence of any reference to them from the documents of almost the entire tenth century cannot be other than most surprising. For it was during the tenth century that the vernacular was making steady gains on the literary language. At its end the King of France could no longer understand Latin, and assemblies of the church even were addressed in the mother tongue. How French and Provençal unfolded and developed we do not know. The process was veiled in silence. Already before the year 900 the French hymn on Saint Eulalia offers indubitable proof of the esteem in which the modern idiom was held by certain individuals of the educated class. And three generations later the wholly Romance poems of *Saint Léger* and the *Passion* assert the claims of the popular speech to a place in medieval literature. But for the long period which intervenes between these manifestations of the capacity of French and Provençal there are neither texts nor allusions. Yet it is a period which should have been most prolific of mention in the records. We may surmise that the poetry of the cross-roads and market-place, at least, had deepened in the meanwhile and

broadened, that it had been subjected to the refining influence of singers trained in the schools of the monks or rhymsters of native taste and talent. Still we can only surmise. At one of the most important epochs in the development of modern literature we are left to conjecture alone. Neither canons nor chronicles give us any light. The popular lyric is neither praised nor blamed.¹

¹It is also noticeable that little help comes from abroad at this time. Towards the middle of the century some ordinances of the English kings forbid heathen songs at funerals and on holy days. They also forbid tree and fountain worship and the practice of incantations. See canon 1 of Edgar, of 960 (against "prophana cantica"), in Mansi, *o. c.* XVIII, p. 515, no. 18; XIX, p. 69, no. 54. In Germany, about the year 973, Widukind was writing an account of the battle of Heresburg, fought a half-century earlier, where "tanta caede Francos mulctati sunt, ut a mimis declamaretur" (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Scriptorum* III, p. 428, ll. 17, 18).—More significant, because it comes from Romance, though not French, territory, and because it supplies interesting details, is what we gather from sermons of Atto, bishop of Vercelli, in North Italy, from 924 to 961. In sermon III he alludes to Pagan rites at the January and March calends. In sermon IX he says that God should be praised: "non aereis cymbalis, non canticulis platearum," and people should rejoice not "in epithalamiis et cantilenis, ut mimi; non in saltationibus et circo, ut histriones vel idolorum cultores." For what is worse for old men and youths "quam stupra virginum et libidines meretricum turpi gestu et blanda voce cantare. . . ?" In sermon XIII, on the festival of Saint John the Baptist, he bewails that in many places "quaedam meretriculae ecclesias et divina officia derelinquant, et passim per plateas et compita, fontes etiam et rura pernoctantes, choros statuant, canticula componant . . ." Migne, *o. c.* CXXXIV, 835, 844, 850.—The St. Martial's version of the Latin poem *Jam dulcis amica, venito*, which dates from the last half of the tenth century and which may have been composed in France, contains a strophe where "cantica" appears instead of the "carmina" of the Viennese version:

Ibi sonant dulces harmoniae (*Vien. symphoniae*),
Infantur et altius tibiae,

The reasons which may be adduced for this neglect and silence are also conjectural. It might be urged that the weakening of ecclesiastical authority, coincident with the decline of the power of the king and the rise of feudalism, worked against the convening of church councils, from which a large part of our information has come. It could be argued that the decay of Latin literature, following on its great renaissance under Charlemagne and his immediate successors, is responsible for the paucity of composition in Latin of any sort. And Latin alone could obtain the right of preservation by manuscript. Or we might assume that the grouping of peoples into different nationalities, which was one of the results of the dismemberment of the Carolingian empire, would arouse a spirit of patriotism that would prompt the new chiefs to foster the use of the vernacular in their immediate circle, and perhaps encourage the poets who were dependent upon them to cultivate the rude poesy of their fellow-countrymen. Such a state of affairs, possible in the greater duchies at least, would explain why decrees and capitularies no longer contained censures of popular songs.¹

Ibi puer et docta puella
Cantant tibi cantica pulchra
(*Vien. Pangunt tibi carmina bella*).

Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica* xi, no. 91.

Cf. É. du Méril, *Poésies pop. lat. du moyen âge*, pp. 196, 197.

¹ Could we determine the language used by the "Francigenis poetis," who accompanied Charles the Bald into Italy (see Johannes' *Coena Cypriani* (876 or 877), published by É. du Méril in his *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au moyen âge* (p. 200), we might approach a solution of this interesting question. For they may have composed in French or Provençal. Some verses by Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbie (Somme) from 844 to 851,

Now all of these causes may have contributed, each its quota, to the attitude of silence which the Latin writers of the tenth century maintain towards folk poetry on French and Provençal soil. The most probable cause, however, still remains to be stated. The raids of the Normans, Saracens and Huns into France and Provence during the first half of this century left their populations very little opportunity for literary pursuits. Their very physical existence was too often imperiled. Art, in all its various relations to life, fled before the invader, nor did it return until the foreign foe was driven back and internal peace was assured by the alliance of the native princes. We learn from the records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—and again from the fifteenth and sixteenth—that literature in the vernacular developed only under the same inspiration that revived literature in the classical tongues. The disturbed condition of the valleys of the Loire and Seine at this period of their history did not encourage composition in Latin. The growth of the duchies of France, Aquitania and Normandy, and the treaties they made with each other, allowed the clerks to respond again to the claims of authorship. The vernacular poets would imitate their example. But of their activity we have no certain knowledge. When the accents

afterwards resident at St. Riquier, near Abbeville († 865), suggest literary compositions in the vernacular. Radbert hopes that the praises of Abbot Adalhart of Corbie († 826) may be variously voiced by the clerks:

Rustica concelebret Romana Latinaque lingua,
Saxo quibus pariter plangens pro carmine dicat.

E. Dümmler, *Poetae Lat. Aevi Carolini* III, p. 45.

Some fifty years later, not far from Corbie, *Sainte Eulalie* was written.

of the rustic muse become once more audible, commerce has stationed its marts along the central highways, the great pilgrimages of Santiago, Rome and Jerusalem are flowing with full tide, Gerbert has taught at Rheims, Fulbert is teaching at Chartres, William the Great of Aquitania is fostering the love of letters, and Hugh Capet has founded the kingdom of France.

Still in whatever way the absence of information about popular poetry in the tenth century may be explained, by the conditions we have mentioned or otherwise, there is no doubt that during these hundred years it gained in thought and form. The difference between the language and strophe of *Sainte Eulalie*, at the end of the ninth century, and *Saint Léger* and the *Passion*, at the end of the tenth, is considerable. But still more striking is the progress evinced by *Boèce* over *Saint Léger* and the *Passion*, its predecessors by a generation only. The author of *Boèce* must have patterned his verse and rhythm on vernacular models already existing, since the Latin poetry of his day does not supply them. Such an advance in style and conception shows interest on the part of the educated clerks, and probably the local rulers also. They had begun to consider the literary possibilities of the mother tongue. The clerks had wrought on it and had reached in the decasyllabic *laisse*, at least, one excellent fixed form of versification. Consequently we may safely consider the *Boèce* as representing the vernacular poetry of its day, a survivor of many fellows, though perhaps the most meritorious. We might also assume that William the Great of Aquitania, in whose lands *Boèce* was written, found among the numerous rewards which he bestowed on Latin poets some prizes with which to gratify their humbler Provençal colleagues.

Because of this development of Provençal verse the church must have become indulgent to the songs of the people. And the account of its dealings with them, which Bernard of Angers has transmitted to us, would confirm this opinion. Bernard, who had been a pupil of Fulbert at Chartres, and was now head of the cathedral school at Angers, had heard of the wonderful cures made by the relics of Saint Fides, in their final resting-place at Conques (Aveyron). His devout curiosity prompted him to verify the reports with his own eyes. Between 1010 and 1020 he went on three distinct pilgrimages to the shrine, and after the third he set himself to chronicle his experience. At Saint Fides', as elsewhere, the pilgrims watched the night through in church or chapel. To while away the time, and to edify as well, the clergy would lead in chanting psalms and singing hymns. This service could be shared by the educated palmers and presumably by the unlettered of unusual piety. But these two classes must have constituted a small minority of the congregation. The larger number could neither read nor understand the Latin office, and the hours of vigil grew long for them. So they tried to shorten them as best they could. "*Horum vero ignari*," to quote Bernard, "*tam cantilenis rusticis quam aliis nugis longe noctis solantur fastidium*."¹

The monks were scandalized by this irreverence and assembled to devise a way of checking it. They had not gone far in their deliberations when their abbot, intervening, told them of similar efforts which had been made before. One of his predecessors, he said, had had the fortitude to exclude the ignorant crowd and its songs

¹On p. 120 of edition cited below.

from the vigils entirely (before 980).¹ For a while this measure availed. The vigils were kept orderly and with decency. But one night, when a greater concourse than usual had gathered before the church and had been denied admission, the fastenings of the doors unloosened of themselves, the multitude entered, and the monks, who had been sleeping in ignorance of the miracle, found the aisles so thronged when they were called to matins, that they could reach their stalls only with the greatest difficulty. Thus it was manifest that all pure utterances of the pious heart, even those which are wholly secular, are acceptable to God, who judges not the words but the intention.² And the good abbot concluded that the people should sing the songs they knew, not at all because the unpolished lyric was itself a pleasing offering, but because back of it was the earnest soul which worshipped in spirit and in truth.³

The popular lyric then, the "cantilenae rusticae," of the turn of the tenth-eleventh centuries, knew the decent "cantilena" ("innocens"), however inartistic ("incompositas cantationes") or trivial ("inepta cantica") its

¹. . cum seniores hujus loci . . ineptum hunc tumultum, feralesque rusticanorum vociferationes atque incompositas cantationes compe-scere nequivissent . . . *Liber Miraculorum Sanctae Fidis* II, c. 12. (In the edition, by A. Bouillet, of the "Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire," the story of the vigils and songs is given on pp. 120-122).

². . . satis pro simplicitate illorum innocens cantilena, licet rustica, utcumque tolerari potest. . . non tamen ea cantilena Deus gaudere credendus sit, etc. *L. c.*, p. 121.

³Sic quoque idem permittit et his quae sapiunt cantare . . . Tamen ne putet aliquis hisce assertionibus me velle id concludere ut Deus pure simpliciterque haec eadem velit, cum sint rustica et inepta cantica, etc. *L. c.*, p. 122.

compositions may have been. And this is exactly the situation which could have been imagined. Side by side with the "*canticum turpe*" stood the harmless song of merry-making. The councils of the church would denounce the one without disclosing the existence of the other. And this inference may be true without impugning the object of the capitulary of Walter of Orleans, cited above,¹ where the clergy are warned against the "*rustic songs*" of anniversary banquets. For on such occasions it is quite probable that the coarse "*cantilenae*" out-balanced the innocent.

It is also clear from Bernard's description that the rustic songs of his day were not confined to melodies which accompanied the dance. We have already assumed as much from the statements made by the writers of the Carolingian period. Bernard's narrative proves it beyond a doubt. There could not have been dance movements in a crowded church. From all the evidence we have found, it would seem that dance songs were as a rule coarse in expression. Undoubtedly songs not connected with dancing were often objectionable. But Bernard did not consider those he had heard at Saint Fides' low in tone. He calls them rough, inartistic, inane. His opinion probably represents the opinion of the Latinists of his day. As we know, it continued to be the general opinion of the educated men of the Middle Ages. For them Latin composition alone could claim both form and content. And at the dawn of the eleventh century it is more than likely that this judgment was just, however much it may have erred later on. As yet Provençal verse could have hardly attained that elegance of style which has

¹ Page 300, note 1.

remained its predominant characteristic. Under William the Great it was surely forming itself. But the process was by no means complete. Two more generations of a Latinity which steadily grew better, and two more generations of court life in France and Aquitania, with constantly increasing refinement, were needed. When they had done their work William IX of Poitou could rightly pride himself on his art.¹

Unfortunately for our knowledge of the subject, Bernard's testimony regarding the existence and nature of vernacular lyric poetry is not seconded by any of his contemporaries. His tolerance stands alone. For during the very decade when Bernard was going on his pilgrimages, at Worms, in Germany, Bishop Burchard was revising the body of decretals and canon law. And among the ordinances he selected which should regulate the attitude of the clergy towards the songs of the people, there is none which is not unfriendly to them. Burchard may have had the best of reasons for his choice. The councils of the church had constantly assailed folk poesy, and Burchard was only a codifier. Besides, while he was perhaps still engaged in his compilation, there was being danced at Kölbigk, in the center of Germany, the fatal round which was to live on in fame, and which alone of all the dances of the earlier Middle Ages has echoed to us the rhythm by which its beat was timed:

¹ Ben voill que sapehon li pluzor
Un verset de bona color
Qu'eu ai trait de mon obrador,
Qu'eu port d'aicel mestier la flor.

—Bartsch, *Chrestomathie provençale*, I, 1-4.

Equitabat Bovo per silvam frondosam,
Ducebat sibi Merswinden formosam.
Quid stamus? cur non imus?¹

Had Burchard knowledge of this great transgression, the utter condemnation of popular poetry brought down to him by the unbroken current of ecclesiastical tradition would certainly be passed on indorsed with his most unqualified approval.

F. M. WARREN.

¹ Cf. E. Schroeder, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* xvii (1897), pp. 94-164.